

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01293 01 OF 02 081543Z

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CINCLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USCINCEUR

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1293

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, NATO, MPOL

SUBJECT: DPC MEETING MARCH 7, 1975- AGENDA ITEM I-TURKISH WITHDRAWAL  
FROM WINTEX 75 EXERCISE

REF: A. USNATO 0999 NOTAL

B. USNATO 1035 NOTAL

SUMMARY. AT MARCH 7 DPC, AMB ERALP (TURKEY) EXPLAINED FORCEFULLY AND IN DETAIL HIS GOVERNMENT'S DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN EXERCISE WINTEX 75. HE STATED THAT THE UNREALISTIC EXERCISE SCENARIO AND THE UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIOS WITH RESPECT TO GREECE MADE THE EXERCISE MEANINGLESS. HE WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE TURKEY'S DIS-SATISFACTION AT THE BENEVOLENT AND CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE ALLIANCE TOWARD GREECE'S WITHDRAWAL. SYG LUNS AND OTHERS WERE UNABLE TO SOFTEN ERALP'S FIRM POSITION. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS NOTED AMB ERALP (TURKEY) HAD REQUESTED THIS AGENDA  
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 01293 01 OF 02 081543Z

ITEM ON PARTICIPATION IN WINTEX 75 AND GAVE FLOOR TO ERALP WHO  
READ FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT:

WITH REGARD TO OUR DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE

PRESENT WINTEX-75 EXERCISE, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

TURKEY HAS FOLLOWED THE GENERAL TENDENCY IN THE ALLIANCE TO REFRAIN FROM ANY PRECIPITATE ACTION WHICH MIGHT FACILITATE THE FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF GREECE FROM MILITARY INTEGRATION AND TO GIVE HER TIME TO RECONSIDER HER DECISION. THIS WE HAVE SO FAR DONE AT THE EXPENSE OF LEAVING IN ABEYANCE CERTAIN QUESTIONS WHICH ARE OF CAPITAL IMPORTANCE FOR COMMON DEFENSE.

IN THIS SPIRIT AND IN SPITE OF THE RECENT MONENTOUS POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN WE HAVE NOT OBJECTED TO THE CENTRE OF GRAVITY OF SUCH IMPORTANT NATO EXERCISES AS WINTEX AND HILEX TO BE SHIFTED TO THE NORTH AND LIGHTLY TREATED IN THE SOUTHERN FLANK.

IN SPITE OF THIS, WE OBSERVE THAT GREECE TENDS TO EMPLOY HER ANOMALOUS POSITION WITH REGARD TO MILITARY INTEGRATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF HER ABUSIVE PROPAGANDA POLICY AGAINST TURKEY. WINTEX-75 IS A CASE IN POINT. GREECE HAS NOT ONLY WITHDRAWN FROM WINTEX-75 WHICH IS MERELY AN EXERCISE ON PAPER, BUT BY NOT ALLOWING ANY SCENARIO ACTION IN THE AEGEAN SEA AND AIR SPACE HAS PARALYZED THE SOUTHERN FLANK AND HAS UNDERMINED THE PARTICIPATION OF TURKEY IN THE EXERCISE.

WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED IN THE NECESSITY OF BOTH ACTUAL PARTICIPATION AND COMMAND POST EXERCISES. WE HAD COMPLETED OUR PREPARATIONS FOR WINTEX-75 THROUGH INTENSIVE WORK. WE ARE THEREFORE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED AT HAVING BEEN INCAPACITATED FROM PARTICIPATION IN WINTEX-75 ON ACCOUNT OF THE HOSTILE ACTION OF GREECE UNBECOMING OF AN ALLY. THIS MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT CLEARLY INDICATES THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO ESTABLISH A FIRM FOUNDATION AS TO THE STANDING OF GREECE VIS-A-VIS ALLIED MILITARY INTEGRATION.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 01293 01 OF 02 081543Z

I AM ATTEMPTING TO EXPLAIN THAT WE SHARE THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO BRING ABOUT A RETURN OF GREECE TO MILITARY INTEGRATION. BUT IT SHOULD BE WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION TO FOOT THE BILL FOR SUCH A CONCILIATORY TRANSACTION. FURTHERMORE, NEITHER THE SITUATION IN OUR REGION NOR THE GENERAL SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE CAN ALLOW A DELAY IN CLARIFYING THE POSITION OF GREECE. THIS IS NOT A MATTER WHICH CAN BE ALLOWED TO DRAG.

WE OBSERVE WITH MUCH CONCERN THAT, IN ORDER TO ATTRACT GREECE BACK INTO THE FOLD OR TO PREVENT HER FURTHER ALIENATION, THE POLICY OF OUR ALLIES TENDS TO EXCEED THE BOUNDS OF BENEVOLENT UNDERSTANDING AND TO GO IN THE DIRECTION

OF PAYING A PREMIUM FOR RECALCITRANCE.

ANY EXCESS IN THIS TENDENCY WILL GIVE GREECE THE CONVICTION THAT IT IS BETTER TO PERPETUATE THE PRESENT ANOMALOUS POSITION AT THE EXPENSE OF TURKEY RATHER THAN TO RETURN TO INTEGRATION. IN OTHER WORDS THIS BENEVOLENT INACTION IS LIABLE TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

IN THE CASE OF WINTEX-75, FOR INSTANCE, GREECE HAS DECLARED HER INTENTION NOT TO PARTICIPATE. THIS CAN BE EXPLAINED BY HER WITHDRAWAL FROM INTEGRATION. BUT GREECE HAS GONE BEYOND THIS AND HAS PREVENTED THE INCLUSION IN THE SCENARIO OF ANY EVENTS CONCERNING THE AEGEAN. IN ORDER NOT TO OFFEND GREECE, OUR ALLIES HAVE CONSENTED TO ADOPT A SCENARIO WHICH EXCLUDES ANY ACTIVITY IN THE AEGEAN WHILE ORANGE OPERATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE IN ALL SECTORS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN-THUS ADOPTING A COURSE WHICH IS NOT ONLY FAR FROM BEING REALISTIC BUT ALSO CALCULATED TO AFFECT ADVERSELY THE PURPOSE OF SUCH AN IMPORTANT EXERCISE.

IN OTHERWORDS, IT HAS BEEN ASSUMED IN THE SCENARIO THAT AT A TIME OF CRISIS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN THE SOVIET UNION WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION IN THE AEGEAN. IT IS OBVIOUS, OF COURSE, THAT IN SUCH A SITUATION THE AEGEAN WOULD BE THE FIRST AND PRIMARY THEATRE OF OPERATIONS. IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT IN SUCH A CRISIS A MATTER OF PRIMARY CONCERN NOT ONLY FOR TURKEY BUT FOR THE WHHOLE ALLIANCE WOULD BE THE SENDING  
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 01293 01 OF 02 081543Z

OF BOTH LOGISTIC SUPPLIES AND REINFORCEMENTS TO TURKEY THROUGH AEGEAN SEA AND AIR LANES. IT IS A MATTER OF SURPRISE THAT THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES CONCERNED HAVE THEMSELVES CONSENTED TO SUCH UNREALISTIC AND DANGEROUS ASSUMPTIONS. IN OUR VIEW, THE SOLICITUDE TOWARD GREECE AND THE RELUCTANCE TO OFFEND HER HAS EXCEEDED NORMAL PREPORTIONS AND ASSUMED A DANGEROUS TREND.

UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE DPC, MILITARY COMMITTEE AND IN SHAPE THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONFINE THEIR ACTIVITY TO TAKING NOTE OF THE PROCEEDINGS. END PREPARED STATEMENT.

2. AMB DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT ERALP'S STATEMENT. NOT QUESTING THAT A NATION'S SOVEREIGNTY ALLOWS UNILATERAL ACTION, DE STAERCKE FELT THAT SOLUTION DOES NOT LIE IN PUNISHING ENTIRE ALLIANCE. HE FEARED THAT GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS ARE IN A "STAGE OF ESCALATION", AND IF ARGUMENTS CONTINUE WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. DE STAERCKE THEN TURNED TO CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, ADMIRAL SIR PETER HILL-NORTON, AND ASKED HOW MILITARY AUTHORITIES WOULD CONDUCT WINTEX 75 IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. IS IT WORTHWHILE?

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 01293 02 OF 02 081609Z

44

ACTION EUR-08

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USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1293

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3. ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON REMARKED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPROPER FOR HIM TO COMMENT ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF ERALP'S STATEMENT. CONCERNING THE MILITARY FEATURES, HE REGRETTED THAT NATO COULD NOT EVEN CONDUCT A COMMAND POST EXERCISE (CPX) INVOLVING THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. NATO CANNOT POSSIBLY GAIN MAXIMUM RESULTS FROM WINTEX 75. CONCERNING THE JANUARY 24 CONFERENCE AT AFSOUTH, HE HAD THOUGHT REPRESENTATIVES HAD ACHIEVED A REASONABLE SOLUTION WHICH WOULD ALLOW EXERCISE PLAY IN TURKEY. AS THIS NO LONGER IS POSSIBLE, AND AT THE REQUEST OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, NATO WILL NOT PASS EXERCISE MESSAGE TRAFFIC TO TURKISH AUTHORITIES NOR TO NATO HEADQUARTERS IN TURKEY. HILL-NORTON RECOGNIZED THE THE EXERCISE SCENARIO CONTAINED ARTIFICIALITIES. THIS IS DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE FACT THAT NATO (SIC) HAS FOR MORE THAN 20 YEARS BEEN UNABLE TO RESOLVE THE COMMAND AND CONTROL PROBLEM IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. IN HIS PREVIOUS INCARNATION IN THE ROYAL NAVY, HILL-NORTON HAD DEVOTED MANY HOURS OF HIS OWN TIME ATTEMPTING TO RESOLVE THESE COMMAND AND CONTROL PROBLEMS. HE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO OFFER A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO PARTIES

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 01293 02 OF 02 081609Z

CONCERNED. GOING BACK TO WINTEX-75, NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES CANNOT WRITE INTO AN EXERCISE SCENARIO SITUATIONS WHICH RUN IN THE FACE OF COMMAND AND CONTRL PROBLEMS. NEVERTHELESS, WINTEX 75 REMAINS AN "IMMENSELY VALUABLE" EXERCISE BUT, OF COURSE, NOT AS MUCH SO WITHOUT GREEK AND TURKISH PARTICIPATION.

4. LUNS UNDERLINED HILL-NORTON'S REMARKS CONCERNING COMMAND AND CONTROL PROBLEMS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. HE RECALLED THAT AFTER ONLY THREE MONTHS IN HIS PRESENT POSITION HE WAS ASKED FROM ALL SIDES TO PRESENT SOLUTIONS TO THIS PROBLEM. THE FACT THAT HE FAILED IS OBVIOUS. LUNS WENT ON TO NOTE THAT A WINTEX EXERCISE DOES NOT HAV TO INVOLVE ALL COUNTRIES, RECALLING THAT THE PREVIOUS WINTEX SCENARIO CENTERED AROUND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND TURKEY DID NOT PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THAT EXERCISE. NEVERTHELESS, LUNS FELT IT IS STILL IMPORTANT TO TEST WHATEVER COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS EXIST. TURKEY'S NOT PARTICIPATING IN THIS EXERCISE NOT ONLY HURTS TURKEY BUT ALSO ALLIES AS WELL

GOING SOMEWHAT AFIELD, LUNS LAMENTED THE FACT THAT NATO WAS SUFFERING, HAVING BECOME INVOLVED IN A DISPUTE ON THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS AND THE EVENTS ARISING OUT OF LAST SUMMER. RECALLING ERALP'S REMARKS ABOUT "BENEVOLENT UNDERSTANDING" ON THE PART OF THE ALLIES, LUNS FELT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT IS NOT IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE TO FORCE TALKS WITH GREECE AT THIS TIME. THE UNITED STATES IS CONDUCTING BILATERAL TALKS AND, AT A CERTAIN POINT, NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ALLIANCE WILL FOLLOW. LUNS EXPRESSED HOPE FOR AN EVENTUAL "HIGHLY SATISFACTORY" SOLUTION BUT NOT AS SATISFACTORY AS WOULD BE THE CASE IF GREECE WER TO REMAIN FULLY IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE.

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5. ERALY EXPRESSED CONERN AT AN APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDING. HE HAD NOT MENTIONED CYPRUS. THE CENTRAL ISSUE WAS THAT WINTEX 75 IGNORED A MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE SCENARIO BECAUSE OF GREECE'S ACTIONS.ERALP RECOGNIZED THE LONG-STANDING COMMAND AND CONTROL CONFLICT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BUT ASKED IF NATO SHOULD CONTINUE TO IGNORE IT, ASKING HOW THE ALLIES COULD IGNORE THE PROBLEM IN CASE OF WAR. ERALP AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT NATO HAS DEMONSTRATED EXCESSIVE BENEVOLENCE TOWARD GREECE, ALLOWING THAT COUNTRY TO PICK AND CHOOSE AS IT SEES FIT. ERALP GAVE THE  
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 01293 02 OF 02 081609Z

RECENT EXAMPLE OF SACEUR'S VISIT TO TURKEY IN WHICH HE HAD NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO OVERFLY THE AGEAN. FINALLY, ERALP FELT WINTEX75 WAS AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY.

6. LUNS AGAIN REMINDED ERALP THAT OTHER EXERCISES OF THIS TYPE HAD INVOLVED NATIONS WHOS PARTICIPATION IN THE SCENARIO WAS NOT REALISTTIC. SACEUR'S NOT BEING ALLOWED TO FLY OVER THE AEGEAN IS AN ISSUE APART FROM OUR MAIN CONCERN. LUNS THEN REFERRED TO A MEMORANDUM RECEIVED RECENTLY FROM ERALP ON THE SUBJECT OF "ICAO" (INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION) AND PROMISED TO STUDY IT CAREFULLY. ERALP THAN REFERRED TO THE JANUARY 24 AF SOUTH CONFERENCE IN NAPLES AND STATED THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THATTHE TURKISH REPS PRESENT DID NOT REPEAT NOT ASSENT TO EXERCISE SCENARIO CHANGES.

7. DE STAERCKE REGREETED THAT HIS GREEK COLLEAGUE WAS NOT PRESENT BUT NEVERTHELESS APPEALED TO TURKEY AND TO THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE TO ADOPT A MODERATE COURSE. OF COURSE THE WINTEX 75 SCENARIO IS UNREALISTIC BUT THEN ALL EXERCISE SCENARIOS ARE. HE ASKED THE AMBASSADORS PRESENT IF HE COULD NOT ADDRESS AN APPEAL IN THEIR NAME TO THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS EXERCISE. AMB ERALP REPLIED THAT TURKEY IS NOT COMPLETELY OUT OF WINTEX 75 AS HIS DELEGATION HERE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS IS RECEIVING ALL EXERCISE MESSAGES AND WILL, OF COURSE, DRAW LESSONS FROM THE EXERCISE PLAY.

8. LUNS AGAIN STATED THAT NATO MUST NOT FORCE THE GREEKS TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. IT WOULD BE MOST UNWISE TO SAY "YOU MUST COME TO A DECISION NOW." THIS METHOD OF APPROACH WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE; TIME IS ON OUR SIDE. ERALP REPLIED: "EVERY DAY AND EVERY WEEK WE ALLOW THE GREEKS TO SIT ON THE FENCE IS HARMFUL TO THE ALLIANCE". TURKEY IS THE NATION WHICH HAS SUFFERED IN, FOR EXAMPLE, COMMUNICATIONS AND THE AEGEAN. TURKEY BELIEVES THAT NATO SHOULD START NEGOTIATIONS IMMEDIATELY TO SEE WHERE WE STAND.

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